

## Message Text

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DRAFTED BY:S/S-O:S.STEINER

APPROVED BY:S/S-O:S.STEINER

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 231088 TOSEC 270305

EXDIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT THE HAGUE 5104 ACTION SECSTATE DTD 17 SEP 76.

C O N F I D E N T I A L THE HAGUE 5104

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR CY TU GR EC UN

SUBJECT: US-EC PRESIDENCY DIALOGUE: CYPRUS

REF: STATE 225447

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF DUTCH RESPONSE TO SECRETARY'S  
MESSAGE OF SEPTEMBER 12.

2. BEGIN TEXT. DEAR HENRY:

WITH MUCH INTEREST I READ YOUR MESSAGE OF SEPTEMBER  
12TH 1976, WHICH WAS COMMUNICATED TO ME THROUGH THE UNITED  
STATES EMBASSY IN THE HAGUE, CONCERNING THE PROBLEM OF  
CYPRUS IN PARTICULAR AS WELL AS OTHER ISSUES IN THE FIELD  
OF GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONS. IN ANSWER TO YOUR REQUEST  
FOR MY OPINION ON THE "TEXT OF MODIFIED CYPRUS PRINCIPLES"  
I WOULD LIKE TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING REMARKS.

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IN A GENERAL SENSE THE PROPOSALS APPEAR TO BE A VERY

USEFUL BASIS FOR A FURTHER APPROACH. WE FULLY SUPPORT, AS A STARTING POINT, THE IDEA OF HANDLING ALL ASPECTS OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, IN ORDER TO ARRIVE AT A COHERENT SUM OF ARRANGEMENTS. IT IS THE VIEW OF THE NINE, TOO, THAT A SOLUTION MUST BE REACHED BY THE PARTIES INVOLVED WITH REGARD TO THE VARIOUS ELEMENTS -I.E. THE TERRITORIAL QUESTION, THE FEDERAL STRUCTURE OF THE STATE AND THE POWERS OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT - INTERLINKED AS THEY ARE.

IT IS FOR THESE REASONS THAT SEPARATE APPROACHES IN POINTS 2 AND 3 RESPECTIVELY, WHICH REFLECT A DISJUNCTION OF THE MAIN ELEMENTS BOTH FACTUALLY AND CHRONOLOGICALLY, HAVE GIVEN RISE TO THE QUESTION WHETHER SUCH AN APPROACH WILL NOT MAKE IT DIFFICULT TO ACHIEVE A PACKAGE DEAL. FOR IT MUST BE DOUBTED WHETHER THE TURKISH-CYPRIOT SIDE WILL BE PREPARED TO MAKE ANY SUBSTANTIAL TERRITORIAL CONCESSION IF IT IS NOT SIMULTANEOUSLY CLEAR TO THAT PARTY WHICH CONCESSIONS THE GREEK-CYPRIOT SIDE IS PREPARED TO MAKE ON OTHER ASPECTS, IN PARTICULAR WITH REGARD TO CERTAIN SOVEREIGN COMPETENCES OF THE FEDERAL STATE COMPLEMENTARY TO THE POWERS OF ITS AUTONOMOUS PARTS. FURTHERMORE, IN VIEW OF THE SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TERM "RECTIFICATIONS", AS MENTIONED UNDER POINT 3, WE WOULD SUGGEST THE USE OF THE WORD "MODIFICATIONS".

THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS MAY BE PASSED WITH REGARD TO SOME OF THE INDIVIDUAL POINTS:

1. PERHAPS THE CONCEPT OF NON-ALIGNMENT, WHICH IS A FUNDAMENTAL COMPONENT FOR THE GREEK-CYPRIOTS AND GREECE, COULD BE INCLUDED AS A FOURTH ELEMENT, GIVEN THE EXPLICIT TURKISH SUPPORT FOR THIS CONCEPT. AFTER ALL, THIS WAS ALSO EXPRESSLY REFERRED TO IN THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTIONS 3212 AND 3395 AND IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 367.

2. IN ORDER TO CREATE A MORE FAVOURABLE ATMOSPHERE, THE PROPOSED APPROACH CONCERNING THE TERRITORIAL

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TERRITORIAL QUESTION COULD POSSIBLY BE PRECEDED BY EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE, AS A FIRST PROOF OF A POSITIVE ATTITUDE, A SOLUTION FOR VAROSHA (NEW-FAMAGUSTA) TO WHICH, AS IS KNOWN, SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE IS ATTACHED BY THE GREEK-CYPRIOT SIDE. THIS WOULD ALSO FIT IN WITH THE RECENT STATEMENT BY MR. ONAN, WHO MENTIONED THIS AS A POSSIBLE OBJECT OF NEGOTIATION.

3. IF IT IS POSSIBLE TO PROCEED WITH THE FACT THAT THE FEDERAL STRUCTURE NO LONGER CONSTITUTES AN INSURMOUNTABLE OBSTACLE, THEN THE ONLY REMAINING PROBLEM, ALONGSIDE THE TERRITORIAL ISSUE, IS IN FACT THE QUESTION OF POWERS OF A FUTURE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT. IN VIEW OF THE EXPRESS TURKISH-CYPRIOT CLAIMS CONCERNING THE POWERS OF THE AUTONOMOUS PARTS AMONGST OTHERS WITH REGARD TO EXTERNAL DEFENCE, IT SHOULD BE MADE CLEAR TO THE TURKISH-CYPRIOT SIDE THAT IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE TO DENY COMPETENCE IN THIS AREA TO A CENTRAL GOVERNMENT. END TEXT.

3. ELABORATING ON LETTER, RUTTEN EXPLAINED THAT MAIN PROBLEM DUTCH HAD WITH US PRINCIPLES WAS FACT THAT THEY WERE CONVINCED, AS WERE EC-9 ALSO, THAT THE ONLY POSSIBILITY OF REACHING AGREEMENT WAS TO INCLUDE ALL ELEMENTS IN SINGLE PACKAGE, INCLUDING BOTH TERRITORIAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES. THEIR IMPRESSION WAS THAT WASHINGTON ON OTHER HAND ENVISAGED TWO PACKAGES, ONE TERRITORIAL AND ONCE CONSTITUTIONAL. THEY SAW NO PROSPECT OF ACHIEVING A DECISION ON THE TERRITORIAL ISSUES APART FROM COMPLETING NEGOTIATIONS ON CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES, SINCE IT DID NOT SEEM REALISTIC TO ENVISAGE GETTING THE TURKS TO ACCEPT TERRITORIAL SETTLEMENT UNTIL THEY KNEW GREEKS WERE READY TO ACCEPT CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS SATISFYING TURKISH CONCERNS. CONSEQUENTLY, RUTTEN SAID, THEY BELIEVED IT WOULD BE WISER TO WORK TOWARD AN OVERALL PACKAGE, EVEN IF DIFFERENT ELEMENTS WERE SEPARATELY DISCUSSED AND AT THE END ALL ELEMENTS WERE BROUGHT TOGETHER AND DEALT WITH IN COHERENT FASHION.

4. RUTTEN DREW SPECIAL ATTENTION TO THE EMPHASIS ON CONFIDENTIAL

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NON-ALIGNED STATUS FOR CYPRUS, WHICH DUTCH BELIEVED WAS ESSENTIAL ELEMENT IN LIGHT OF PERSONAL POSITION OF MAKARIOS IN NON-ALIGNED WORLD.

5. FINALLY, HE REFERRED TO THE POSSIBILITY OF FIRST TACKLING THE PROBLEM OF VAROSHA AS AN OPENING THAT MIGHT CREATE A FAVORABLE ATMOSPHERE FOR SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS; SPECIFICALLY GREEK REFUGEES MIGHT BE PERMITTED TO RETURN, EVEN IF AREA REMAINED IN TURKISH ZONE. GOQLD UNQTE: ROBINSON

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